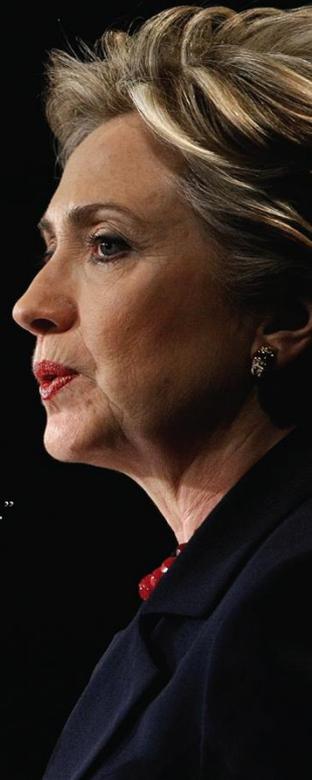


# THE HILLARY DOCTRINE

*Sex & American Foreign Policy*

Valerie M. Hudson  
& Patricia Leidl

“THE SUBJUGATION OF WOMEN IS A THREAT TO  
THE COMMON SECURITY OF OUR WORLD AND  
TO THE NATIONAL SECURITY OF OUR COUNTRY.”  
-HILLARY CLINTON



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# Genesis of the Book

- Came from an unlikely friendship between Pat Leidl and myself. Our first piece together was one for *Foreign Policy*, criticizing the Obama Administration on its Afghan policy's effects on the situation of Afghan women.
- Designed to highlight the unique approach taken by Hillary Clinton in her years as Secretary of State, using that as a springboard to talk more broadly about women in American foreign policy.
- The book project was initiated in 2010, and the bulk of it was written in 2013, after my co-author completed the fieldwork.
- We had originally intended to have chapters covering Egypt and China as well, but our level of funding did not permit that.
- We also had a chapter on Mexico, which unfortunately had to be cut from the book for space reasons, but which we hope to transform into an article in the future.

# Tripartite Structure

- **Part One:** History—how did women come to matter in American foreign policy? Went back as far as the Nixon administration.
- **Part Two:** Theory and Cases—is the Hillary Doctrine justified? Is its premise sound?
  - Theory
  - Guatemala
  - Saudi Arabia and Yemen
- **Part Three:** Implementation—how was the Hillary Doctrine implemented from 2009-2013? What worked, and what didn't?
  - The good, the bad, and the ugly
  - Afghanistan as a litmus test of the Hillary Doctrine
  - What we've learned: suggestions for the next president

# This Talk

- For this talk, we're going to focus on policy analysis. During the panel discussion, we can also speak to issues of history, theory, and cases.

## So, what is “the Hillary Doctrine”?

- “The subjugation of women is a threat to the common security of our world and to the national security of our country.”
- “The suffering and denial of the rights of women and the instability of nations go hand in hand.”

# Is the Premise Sound?

- Yes. Through my academic research and my co-author's fieldwork, we have no problem stating unequivocally that Clinton is right.
- “Compare those societies that respect women and those who don't. Who's trafficking in weapons, drugs? Who's harboring terrorists and starting pandemics? Whose problems require US troops on the ground? There's a one-to-one correspondence. Don't tell me there's no relationship between national security and the empowerment of women.” (Donald Steinberg, formerly deputy administrator of USAID, now president of World Learning)
- “Fempolitik” is a pillar of clear-eyed “Realpolitik”
  - Whether we are examining the national interest in terms of the durability of peace accords, food security, security demographics, national health, national wealth, quality of governance, interstate relations, or any other aspect of security—women's empowerment helps in tangible ways.

Women aren't the canary in the coal mine; male-female relations within the society are the coal mine. The canaries are poverty, malnutrition, ill health, explosive violence, etc. This is the conceptual difference wrought by the Hillary Doctrine.

# Moral Quandaries

- Before we examine more closely the implementation of the Hillary Doctrine, we must first admit there are serious moral quandaries involved in pursuing it, many of which were manifest during Clinton's own tenure.
- Conspicuous Silences—Saudi Arabia, China
- “Blood on Her Hands”—Iraq, Afghanistan
- The Feminist Hawks versus Pontius Pilate—the problem of using military instruments to “help” women. “The US cannot help women *through* its foreign policy *because* of its (militarist) foreign policy.” (Afghanistan, Libya, Iraq, Syria, Yemen . . . even Egypt in a way; an Arab Winter for women on Clinton's watch)
- Our Own House—US has not, and probably will not, ratify CEDAW. No paid maternity leave. Only 20% of national legislature is female. Significant levels of VAW.
- Hawk, hypocrite, naif?

“The alternative would have been *what?* The tough work is to get out there and help.”

--Anita McBride, former  
chief of staff to First Lady Laura Bush

So . . . did we help?

# How was the Hillary Doctrine implemented under SecState Clinton?

- Three Levels of Analysis
  - Executive Framework
  - Contracting
  - Program Implementation

# Framework of Commitments

- Four Principles as explicated by Jen Klein, advisor to HRC on global women's issues:
  - This is a nonpartisan issue.
  - The United States is not imposing its views on other nations.
  - The work must be based in evidence, even though we also feel it's the right thing to do.
  - These efforts must demonstrate that the benefits accrue not only to women but to national interests such as security and prosperity.

# UNSCR commitments

- 1325 (2000)
- 1820: rape in war to be considered a war crime, crime against humanity; part of genocide (2008)
- 1888: UN peacekeeping mission tasked with protecting women and children from sexual violence (2009)
- 1889: strengthen participation of women in peace processes and post-conflict planning (2009)
- 1960: requires parties to conflict to commit not to perpetrate sexual violence, and creates monitoring system (2010)
- 2106: urges sanctions committees to look at the use of sexual violence in conflict as a sanctionable offense (2013)
- 2122: commits to High Level Review of 1325 in 2015 (2013)

# The US NAP (2011)

- Five areas of primary action:
  - National-level integration and institutionalization of a gender-responsive approach to diplomacy, development, and defense
  - Strengthening of women's participation in peace processes and decision-making
  - Protection of women from sexual and gender-based violence
  - Promotion of women's role in conflict prevention
  - Gender sensitive access to relief in the case of humanitarian crises
- Each area has specific actions identified, and each is associated with specific executive branch agencies, and each action has specified 80 outcomes which serve as benchmarks of progress.
- Overseen by the WPS IPC (WPS Interagency Policy Committee), which reports to the NSC Deputies Committee.
- The NAP also facilitates civil society group monitoring and evaluation of the government's efforts. "Tools to keep the US faithful" (Verveer)

# More . . .

- OGWI's elevation (literally, to the 7<sup>th</sup> floor!)
- Ambassadorial rank for head of OGWI
- USAID got a Senior Coordinator for Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment, and a revised Policy on Gender Equality and Female Empowerment (mandating, among other things, a gender component in design and monitoring in all RFPs)
- 9 new gender indicators in the Master Indicator List used by all monitoring bureaux.
- Office of the Undersecretary of Defense for Policy tasked with overseeing DoD's efforts on WPS
- The Services got a Defense Advisory Committee on Women in the Services (also Marines pioneered FETs)
- AFRICOM has a Gender Working Group
- 2012 State Department Policy Guidance Advancing Gender Equality and Promoting the Status of Women and Girls instructing each bureau, embassy, and office to under take a gender analysis of its area of responsibility.
- Foreign Service Institute has new gender module in training for new officers. USAID has Gender 101 for its new personnel.

# Still More . . .

- 2010 QDDR—women mentioned 133 times in 242 pages
- Counter-Trafficking in Persons Strategy
- Strategy to Prevent and Respond to Gender-based Violence Globally
- Equal Futures Partnership
- Vision for Ending Child Marriage and Meeting the Needs of Married Children
- White House Council on Women and Girls established in 2009
- Feed the Future Initiative and Global health Initiative had a large focus on women
- Secretary's International Fund for Women and Girls
- Data 2X Initiative
- US-Pakistan Women's Council
- Cookstoves, meeting with activists on every trip, etc etc etc.

Pretty darn impressive. How'd  
it all fare at ground level?

# Beyond DC

- Laying rhetoric to one side, to see “what happened” we need to look at DDD operations—State, AID, and DoD.
- Let’s look a primarily at AID
- Compared to AID and DoD, State does little programming. Yet an important change came during the Bill Clinton Administration—AID was, in essence, put “under” State.
- Hillary Clinton did not change this, even though in her confirmation hearings, she admitted, “I think it’s fair to say that USAID, our premier aid agency, has been decimated . . . It’s turned into more of a contracting agency than an operational agency with the ability to deliver.”
- Also under Bill Clinton, GPRRA was passed, mandating program assessment every 12 months (or less), and termination of ineffective programming.

# AID, cont'd

- GPRA resulted in some perversity for AID. Outcomes must be measurable in a 2 year horizon to be deemed worthy of continuation. And projects must also meet their “burn rate” every step of the way. All this in a context where the number of AID personnel has shrunk precipitously (75% reduction since the 1970s) even as AID budgets have risen dramatically. “Almost eight months of every year are dominated by reporting and budget processes”—an estimated 30-40% of staff effort is dedicated to GPRA reporting requirements.
- In 2014, we calculated every single AID employee would have to burn through \$6.7 million per year to keep funds flowing from Congress.
- Very few organizations can burn money that fast—hence the rise of the mega-contractors, such as Chemonics. The federal granting process is also so cumbersome—and is only in English—so in practice, newer, smaller, and/or indigenous organizations are simply unfundable by AID.

# AID, cont'd

- In addition, *outcomes* are not easily measurable on a one-year basis, so only yearly *outputs* are measured, such as number of textbooks printed, or number of students enrolled, or number of classes offered (even if the classes are duplicates). Whether students learned anything from the textbooks or even attended school or class after enrollment is not examined.
- To make matters worse, there are simply not enough AID employees to perform program evaluations. So the contractors themselves “evaluate” their programs according to the agreed-upon outputs, forwarding the self-evaluations to AID.
- A serious disconnect has developed between AID and what the US is trying to accomplish on the ground: “We spend too much, too fast, without a clue” (Ann Jones), “There’s billions of dollars and then there’s a total dysfunctionality at the bottom.” (Jessica Neuwirth).

# How does this affect the Hillary Doctrine?

- In our interviews and fieldwork, this disconnect manifested itself in a fairly predictable fashion.
  - Gender became a “pet rock.” People genuflected to it, but didn’t take it seriously, and dropped it as soon as the going got tough.
    - Greenhouses and land rights
    - Bees for Widows in Iraq (2009-2010). Becomes a numbers game
    - Patriarchal and hierarchical, as viewed from the ground
    - Lack of hard targets for important outcomes (e.g., representation of women in peace negotiations)
    - COPs hired by mega-contractors may be the last people you’d want implementing the Hillary Doctrine: “How can you work with such pigs?”
    - Lack of will at the very top
    - Gender imbalances: lack of female Chiefs and Deputy Chiefs of Party
    - The perception (often accurate) that focusing on gender is a “career killer”

# The Future of the Hillary Doctrine

- The legal obligations and institutions will persist.
- The NAP provides observable benchmarks, including how much programmatic funding is gender-related.
- Rhetoric about the importance of women is now a staple of political discourse.
- And yet . . . Zenko's analysis
- But perhaps the younger generation "gets it" in a way their predecessors did not, because of institutionalized gender training from the get-go? "Time is on our side."
- There's clearly both positive and negative lessons to be learned from the implementation of the Hillary Doctrine from 2009-2013. What might the to-do list look like for the next president?

# The To-Do List

- We offer a to-do list for the next president in our book; time constraints prohibit us from giving it at this point, but the panel discussion will surely touch on some of these items.

# Final Thoughts

- In the final analysis, the Hillary Doctrine's legacy will be judged by whether the phrase "the Hillary Doctrine" disappears from the vernacular—because it becomes an accepted, indeed, standard frame of reference founded on a firm evidentiary base.
- When that day comes, seeing women as integral to national and international security will have become as natural and unremarkable as not seeing them once was.
- Here's to that day.

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